

Proletarian Era

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Long Live Comrade Lenin



22 April 1870 — 21 January 1924

“But when it is a question of practical action by the masses, of the disposition, if one may so express it, of vast armies, of the alignment of *all* the class forces of the given society *for the final and decisive battle*, ... we must ...ask ourselves whether the historically effective forces of *all* classes — positively of all the classes of the given society without exception — are aligned in such a way that everything is fully ripe for the decisive battle; in such a way that 1) all the class forces hostile to us have become sufficiently entangled, are sufficiently at loggerheads with each other, have sufficiently weakened themselves in a struggle which is beyond their strength; that 2) all the vacillating, wavering, unstable, intermediate elements — the petty-bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois democrats as distinct from the bourgeoisie — have sufficiently exposed themselves in the eyes of the people, have sufficiently disgraced themselves through their practical bankruptcy; and that 3) among the proletariat a mass sentiment in favour of supporting the most determined, supremely bold, revolutionary action against the bourgeoisie has arisen and begun vigorously to grow. Then revolution is indeed ripe; then, indeed, if we have correctly gauged all the conditions indicated and briefly outlined above, and if we have chosen the moment rightly, our victory is assured.”

— V. I. LENIN

(*Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, p.98-99*)

People's March to Parliament on 14 March

By this time a large section of people are aware that 14th of March is to be the day on which people in thousands from even the remotest corner of the different states of the country will march to Parliament. The streets of Delhi will reverberate with their cries : ‘You — the Government can never stay a mute onlooker when unbearable suffering, misery and penury plague the life of the common people.’ ‘You must take immediate steps to redress the plight of the people or else we the people of the country will compel you to do so.’

Unbridled price spiral is wreaking havoc in people's life, dooming them to utter ruin. Starvation or semi-starvation has become part and parcel of their life. Even the middle class with their

limited income can hardly make both ends meet. The so called reform programmes of capitalist globalization pursued by the bourgeois governments of different hues, both at the Centre and in the states, have only ensured that prosperity and wealth are skewed in favour of the handful of ‘haves’ while retrenchment, job loss, unemployment, pauperization, destitution are being doled out to the

‘have-notes’ in increasing dose. All the hard earned democratic rights, right to protest and even the very right to live are being systematically curtailed and robbed. Every attempt is made to muzzle voice of protest, scuttle development of legitimate democratic movement. The indifference of the Government towards the vast masses of rural poor dependent on agriculture to somehow eke out a living is criminal. Then again, under latitude from the Government, prices of fertilizer, seeds, pesticides, diesel, electricity in rural areas

for running irrigation pumps have been going up exorbitantly to jack up cost of agricultural production. On the other hand, the government has failed to ensure farmers for fair price for their produce so that they can earn their livelihood. On top of this, with administration collaborating, black-marketing is rampant. Deprived of the just price on the one hand along with ever-increasing expenses — farmers are getting entangled in debt-traps. The rate of interest charged by the usurers is 5-6 times higher than that of banks. According to official record itself, every year 20-25 thousands of debt-stricken farmers are committing suicide. Another large section of the masses — those associated with retail business are faced with the impending threat of losing their bread and butter once the national and foreign monopoly capital full-fledgedly take over retail trade.

Even the arena of education is under severe attack from the ruling class and its subservient Government. A sinister effort is on to banish examination upto class VIII in school education and introduce disastrous automatic promotion scheme. The Congress-led UPA Government at the Centre, has brought in the Right to Education Bill — which is a deliberate



Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C) addressing a massive General Body meeting of West Bengal Party activists in Kolkata on 1 January 2012 calling upon leaders and workers to engage themselves with all might in the signature campaign for Parliament March.

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Build up countrywide powerful democratic movement centring round the burning problems crippling people

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fraud committed on the students. Under the grandiose title of Right to Education Act this legislation passed of late is purported to curtail the very rights of receiving education by the wards of the common people. The Act stipulates that even if a student scores nil, he or she would stand promoted to the next class. So, the focus is to automatically promote the student without ascertaining his or her merit or level of comprehension. This would inevitably weaken the base of education and the student so enjoying automatic promotion would suddenly find himself or herself incapable of clearing examinations after class VIII and thus get detained there. What would one call this—spread of education or deliberate axing of higher education? It is nothing but a treacherous conspiracy to deprive the students at large from entering into the arena of higher education while providing the government a chance to clamour achieving so called 'higher literacy rate'.

Apart from robbing the students of the scope of proper education, the ruling bourgeoisie and its government are also engaged in the heinous act of encouraging liquor consumption, gambling, betting and rampant spread of obscenity through all media with a view to breaking the moral backbone of the people particularly the youth so that they are crippled from within and dispossessed of the required moral courage and mental strength to protest against injustice. Atrocities on women, trafficking of women and children are allowed to go on unabated. Corruption has become all-pervasive. On this or that pretext, the Government has stalled legislation of an effective Lokpal viewed to be a powerful autonomous body to curb rampant corruption in the high levels of governance. Instead, in the name of Lokpal it has passed a Bill in Parliament that is purported to reduce Lokpal into a toothless institution that would not touch the unscrupulous middlemen and utterly corrupt officials and executives to pilfer and corner the benefits due to the people at large. One would recall that even Rajiv Gandhi, the former Congress Prime Minister could not but admit once that 90 paise out of an allotment of Re 1 trickles out in unlawful ways. This only bares the skeleton of a dishonest deceitful administration trading in the hunger of the millions.

The obvious question stirring every thinking mind is that what is the remedy to this growing plight and penury, deprivation and misery? Is

election the answer to the question? Had that been so, how is that there is no change in the lot of the people in the long years since independence despite changes in the government? On the contrary, the predicament of the people is rising with every passing day while the governments irrespective of hues continue to abet, overtly or covertly, the prevailing capitalist system which sucks out every drop of blood of the toiling masses to increase wealth and luxury of the oppressive rulers and their hirelings. Not only that the governments wedded to the task of nakedly serving the class interest of the ruling capitalists are averse to take any initiative to mitigate the hardship of the people, they are continuously adopting anti-people policies and measures so that the entire burden of the acute insoluble crisis the ruling class is mired in following inevitable law of capitalism is squarely passed on to the common people. It is the same path the incumbent Congress-led UPA Government is treading to make life yet more nightmarish for the suffering millions. So, mere replacing a party by another one aligned to the same class interest of the ruling capitalists cannot bring any relief to the people. The only way people can build up an effective deterrent is by developing their own political power in the process of building up sustained organized democratic mass movement under correct revolutionary leadership based on higher ethics and morality. To spearhead such movement, oppressed people must come forward to build up struggle committees and set up volunteer corps right from the grassroots level, give rise to the mentality of conducting long-drawn movement overcoming all threats, intimidations and coercive actions of the government-administration, acquire necessary political consciousness and above all, identify and strengthen the correct revolutionary leadership which can lead the movement to its logical culmination. It is the absence of this desired people's movement which is allowing the government to get away with all kinds of evil activities and sinister moves. Taking advantage of the lower standard of political consciousness of the masses, vote-seeking political parties and leaders as direct agents of the ruling capitalist class and seeking to make a career by exploiting people's grievances, are hoodwinking the people posing themselves as champions of people's cause and at the same time ensuring that people's

grievances never crystallize into a well-knit protracted movement along the right track but veer around vote politics and remain confined within the precincts of parliamentarism. Not only that. In order to ensure that the desired unity of the oppressed people rising above all divisions and differences never develops to facilitate the process of building democratic movement as elucidated above, the ruling class is fostering day in and day out all kinds of divisiveness among people over the questions of caste, creed, religion, region and ethnicity, foments communalism-parochialism-chauvinism and often pitting one section of the people against the other, engineers fratricidal feuds and bloodbaths. The political parties committed to the ruling class function as hand-maiden to orchestration of this nefarious the design. So, their objective is to build up, what is called, 'vote banks' among people disunited by such artificial splits and score in the hustings to buttress self-aggrandizement. It is unfortunate that not only the known bourgeois and petty-bourgeois outfits, even the pseudo-Marxists like CPI (M), CPI and their associates have not been out of the ambit of this duping parliamentary politics. For pelf and power, they have also surrendered to the class interest of the rulers notwithstanding apparent posture of pursuing leftism as against rightist mooring of others. Demonstrating true colour of compromising petty-bourgeois force, they, masquerading themselves as leftists-Marxists, have exposed to the people particularly while running governments in various states that they are no different from power-monger bourgeois politicians. They have not only been scuttling the possibility of growth of the desired people's movement by killing the very spirit to protest by directing attack at the realm of culture through unabashed pandering to vote-orientation of the people. They have even ruthlessly crushed surging people's movement wherever they have been in governmental power. Having been betrayed in this way by the social democratic forces and in the absence of the cultural milieu of conscious united democratic movement which also can free people from the shackles of warped mindset and divisive mentalities, the masses are not coming out of the clutches of parliamentary illusion and hence falling victim to the deceptive politics of the vote-oriented bourgeois parties and sham

Marxists. Such has been the situation although the long 64 years of our independence.

As against this, SUCI(C) guided by the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, is steadfastly pursuing the alternative current of revolutionary politics. While the bourgeois parties have been using the oppressed people as pawns in reaping electoral gains and the self-styled Marxists-leftists have abandoned the path of movement for pelf and power, SUCI(C) is holding aloft the true banner of Marxism-leftism and relentlessly engaged in building up democratic mass movements on the burning issues of life along the correct anti-capitalist revolutionary line by organizing the suffering people right from the grassroots level. It is trying to make people politically conscious, imbue them with the nobility of revolutionary politics help them imbibe the invincibility of Marxist ideology and release the immense power in them to inflict a crushing defeat on the ruling bourgeoisie and its lackeys who are playing ducks and drakes with their lives.

In this backdrop, realizing the urgent necessity of building up countrywide powerful democratic movement centring round the burning problems crippling the people, the Central Committee of SUCI(C) has taken up the historic task of spearheading such a movement on the following charter of legitimate demands of the people:—

1. Check sky-high price rise. Introduce all-out state trading in food grains and essential commodities both in wholesale and retail trade. Stop stimulus package to the monopolists. Roll back the hike in prices of petrol, diesel, kerosene and LPG and hold its price line. Withdraw decontrol of trade on petroleum products. Stop hoarding, black-marketing and the entry of monopolists and FDI in retail trade and agriculture.
2. Take measures to prevent peasants' suicides. Write off loans of poor peasants. Supply seeds, fertilizer, pesticides, diesel, electricity and irrigation water to poor peasants at subsidized rates. Government must procure agriculture produce at reasonable prices.
3. Stop acquisition of land on behalf of corporate houses, unnecessary widening of roads under schemes of BOT/PPP.

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UP on the Eve of Assembly Elections

Monster of Casteism-Communalism Dominating over Burning People's Issues

Uttar Pradesh (UP) is going to the polls next month along with four other states. The electoral results and political developments in UP, as we all know, have a very major impact on the all India political scenario since it is one of the biggest states in the Hindi-speaking region adjacent to national capital Delhi. Hence, all eyes are on the unfolding pre-poll situation, alignment and realignment of forces and speculation about the possible results. But what is most disquieting as ever is that none of the major bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties as well as self-styled Marxists-leftists are in the mood of upholding the pressing problems of people's life as agenda and instead are busy working out their electoral arithmetic based on most denunciatory and incendiary casteism-communalism and opportunistic unprincipled tie-ups either at state-level or at local levels. Caste is ostensibly brought in as a bludgeon against political adversaries. The latest vying with each other is over securing reservation for this or that caste or religious communities so that votes are polarized on those lines. Even the bourgeois media in all their reportings, analyses and commentaries are only highlighting these issues as if such are only material in deciding voting preferences. It is only SUCI(C) which is contesting the elections with an alternative political line – the line of building up sustained united powerful democratic movement on the burning demands of the people rising above all kinds of divisiveness and clearly pointing out that it is decadent moribund capitalist system which is breeding all miseries and penury in the life of the oppressed millions irrespective of caste, creed, region, religion or ethnicity.

Electoral planks of the major parties

Besides Congress and BJP, two national level big bourgeois parties, Samajwadi Party (SP) led by Mulayam Singh Yadav and Bahujan Samajwadi Party (BSP) with incumbent chief minister Mayawati at the helm are two major contestants. In fact, the government has been at the disposal of either SP or BSP most of the time during last two decades. Congress, the most trusted party of the ruling Indian monopolists, had an absolute control on the state and government for about four decades after independence and derived advantage by handling the various casteist and religious equations in absence of any formidable opposition. But decades of misrule and self-aggrandizement of the Congress ministers and leaders coupled with onerous economic and political exploitations precipitated huge discontent among the minds of the mostly Hindi-speaking UP people, particularly those belonging to the most backward sections who have been the worst victims of gruelling capitalist oppression. Seizing that opportunity, BJP, the arch Hindu-communal outfit managed to surface as an alternative by shrewdly fanning up communal polarization and registered a meteoric rise in the early 1990's to finally unseat Congress from the government. BJP's main thrust was on venom-spitting against Muslim minorities and rousing Hindu fanaticism to ride to power by cornering Hindu vote. BJP with an overtly communal stripe and the primordial identities that make the

Indian nation what it is. In order to create a polarization of the masses on communal line to net electoral gains, the BJP leaders obviously at the instance of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangha (RSS), their mentors, orchestrated the most heinous act of demolishing historic Babri masjid. It no doubt paid them dividend in so far as riding to power is concerned but right-thinking people round the country denounced this as an act of savagery. Noting countrywide condemnation of this criminal act, the BJP leaders later pretended to be distancing themselves from their communal mooring so as to woo broader non-communal masses at national level. But they have never been apologetic about their communal stand nor abandoned their noxious Hindutva agenda as was evidenced in the macabre Gujarat pogrom. Since in UP a formidable section of the exploiting class like the kulaks and big traders who gained on account of this communal politics of BJP and had been playing a determining role in ballot swing, belonged to the so called upper caste Brahmin or Rajput community, BJP managed to have considerable influence over that particular community in securing votes cast on casteist line in that state. This group of exploiters, who dominated the electoral scene and created a reign of terror to bully the oppressed lower strata of the populace to supine submission, earlier backed Congress. But later, seeing that Congress is fast losing popularity, they switched allegiance to BJP in whom they found an alternative force who would



Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, member, Politbureau, conducting the School of Politics of Delhi State from 17 to 19 December, 2011.

faithfully serve their narrow class interest. On the eve of the ensuing UP elections, BJP is making every effort to curry favour with this powerful kulak-trader lobby and at the same time nurturing its Hindutva credential to reap benefit of a possible communal divide brewing in the hideous underbelly of casteist-communal polity of the state. What is worth taking note of is that though BJP initially created a halo of a 'party with a difference' and succeeded to some extent confusing the masses disgusted with Congress misrule, its anti-people character was laid bare once it ascended to power and pursued anti-people pro-rich policies with alacrity. People found it no better, if not worse than Congress. That marked erosion of BJP's support base. But, disillusion about BJP brought in its wake another menace. In place of communalism emerged another new sphinx, casteism as represented by SP and BSP. Both these parties who are now the main contenders for the seat of governance in UP, openly pander to worst kind of divisive casteist politics. Mulayam's Samajwadi Party banks on the votes of Other Backward Classes (OBCs) and the good number of Muslim population. This time also, it is making effort to retain its hold on those vote-banks besides trying to snatch some support from others' strongholds. BSP which was formed in 1994 flaunting its *dalit* (most oppressed, utterly backward and ostracized people in the lowest rungs of the stratified society) credential managed within a decade to appear as a major force by arousing an anti-

upper caste sentiment, if not hatred. But interestingly, BSP supremo Mayawati did not hesitate to join hands with BJP, known to be an upper-caste friendly party, in 2002 to become chief minister. However, with 40 of her MLAs switching to SP, she had to abort power midway and allow Mulayam Singh, her *bête noir*, to occupy the chair of chief minister. In 2007 election, however, she received absolute majority and regained power. She also cunningly managed to secure some seats from the constituencies dominated by OBCs and upper caste people by offering some pelf and position to a few strongmen and vote managers there and thereby create some following among those sections also. In fact, a chunk of the OBCs and upper caste votes had gone all out to support Mayawati in 2007 to forge a unique Dalit-Brahmin axis that propelled her to power. For the powerful among the upper castes, disillusioned with the BJP and desperate to oust Mulayam Singh, the BSP was, so to say, the perfect 'fit'. This time also, she is primarily playing on *dalit* sentiment in traditional way and alongside making friendly overtures to other sections as well to retain power. On the other hand, Congress which was practically reduced to a non-entity in state vote politics following the rise of BJP and then SP-BSP, is leaving no stone unturned to win back Muslims as well as a section of *dalits* and the most backward castes. It is frantically trying to win back the *Kurmis* within the *dalit* segment and also the Muslims.

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Parties play casteism-communalism as election tunes

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Rahul Gandhi has been assigned the job of resuscitating Congress there. So, he is often shown on TV and print media taking food or holding small children in lap in his dalit houses, squatting with poor people against forcible land grab or announcing special package for drought-affected neglected Bundelkhand area. In a last minute attempt to whisk away some votes from the caste-based strongholds of SP-BSP, both Congress and BJP are also making friendly overtures to the dalits and OBCs by offering olive branches.

Harrowing spectacle of the state

While the vote-birds are busy working out their electoral arithmetic centered on casteist-communal polarization, the people in Uttar Pradesh as in other states are devastated by sky-rocketting of prices, growing unemployment, retrenchment, lay-off, closures, non-remunerative price for agricultural produce, spiralling debt burden, lack of healthcare and education, scarcity of drinking water and a host of such other burning problems that the ruling class and its pliant governments, both at Centre and in the state, have not only been creating but increasing with every passing day. On virtually every index of social development, whether literacy, infant mortality or unemployment, Uttar Pradesh ranks among the lowest in India; the situation is compounded by the fact that figures for females is invariably much lower than for males on every parameter. A state with abundance of natural resources and extremely fertile arable land registered a high unemployment rate between July 2009 and June 2010. National Sample Survey defines lead indicators of Labour Force

Participation Rate (LFPR), or the ratio of labour force to population, Workers Population Ratio (number of persons employed per 1000 persons), Proportion of Unemployed and unemployment rate (ratio of unemployed to labour force). According to the survey findings, UP registered a LFPR of 296 between July 2009 and June 2010. This was higher than Bihar where labour force participation rate was 276 for every 1000 persons. Sunk into a sea of under-development, UP, according to the Planning Commission's 61st National Sample Survey has the highest number of people below the poverty line. An estimated 44 percent of its 175 million population live below the poverty line, over 80 percent of who are in rural areas. UP alone accounts for 20 percent of the poor in India, and an estimated 9 percent of the poor worldwide. Not only does the State have a large absolute burden of poverty, it ranks low among Indian states in other indicators of deprivation. UP also performs poorly on several critical human development indicators. Mayawati government had admitted in April last that there have been large-scale financial irregularities in the execution of National Rural Health Mission. Even the state Cabinet Secretary conceded that it was the rampant corruption at various levels in the execution of the Rs.3,000 crore NRHM schemes that led to the murder of two successive chief medical officers, Dr. V K Arya and Dr. B P Singh, for family welfare in Lucknow. There is severe problem of drinking water even in water-rich areas so much so that a suffering citizen could not but comment: "The present government of Uttar Pradesh is said to be of lower classes of the people... but their handling of problems of the poor classes prove that these leaders are no more downtrodden and have

little concern for the poor people of the state. However, at the time of elections, these very leaders praise a lot of hue and cry for the poor to get their votes to capture political power of the state... The government which has very recently raised pay packets of Members of Legislative Assembly from Rs 25,000 pm to Rs 50,000 pm... has no funds to provide potable water to the poor people of the state. We are ashamed of having such a democracy." While the government has miserably failed to deliver even minimum of the goods, it has shown magical skill in snatching and robbing. The government's smooth road to development has bumped off over 23,000 villages lined along the two expressways under preparation. That is almost a fourth of the total of 1.08 lakh revenue villages in the state. Not only will it change the entire landscape of the state and a lot of these villages are in some of the most fertile parts of UP but also lead to displacement of villagers on a scale that's hard to imagine. These are but the tip of the iceberg. The whole saga is of deception, deprivation, persecution, oppression, repression and suppression.

Who stands where?

But none of the parliamentary parties have any concern for this peril and predicament of the common people. Isolated from the masses and indifferent to their problems, these vote-seeking political parties have no credibility whatsoever. Rather all of them are tainted, neck-deep in corruption and thoroughly discredited. Most of the existing legislators and the proposed candidates have criminal background, pending criminal cases against them. The legislature has virtually been turned into an abode of mafias, ruffians and turncourts. Coming back to the parties, let us take Congress first. Bouts of anti-people policies and spate of mega scams and corruption have made the party figure in an extremely bad light. And curiously enough, the same Congress is blasting the Mayawati government on corruption. In UP, no one trusts Congress. Also no one expects the party to come anywhere near to government formation. Sensing that, Congress leaders have aligned with the Ajit Singh's RLD which has following within influential rural gentry in Western part of the state. Also the possibility of a post-poll alliance with SP has been aired. SP leaders have also not ruled out that possibility. BJP which was trying to refurbish its image by mounting scathing attack on Congress is itself

caught in the web as its all India President did not hesitate a moment even to induct Babu Singh Kushwaha and Badshah Singh, two former BSP ministers accused of high scale corruption. It has also been deserted by its ally, Janata Dal (United) because of difference over seat sharing. Mulayam Singh and his SP is counting on anti-incumbency factor, though Amar Singh, its strongman and a great manipulator of parliamentary politics, has left the party. Mulayam is reported to be working on a clandestine understanding with Congress.

Swan song of Mayawati regime

On the other hand, the image that Mayawati and her BSP spruced up before last assembly election is considerably tarnished. Mayawati makes no secret of her hunger for power and wealth. She takes money during her birthday celebrations as gifts from her followers and well-wishers. She takes it during elections by selling tickets to the highest bidder. There have been allegations of money being taken by her in various projects and schemes. Transfers and postings are also said to be an important source of corruption for the persons in power. One would recall that CBI had prepared a chargesheet against her in a case of ill-gotten assets worth Rs.30 crores. Subsequently, CBI had filed an FIR against her in the controversial Rs 175-crore Taj Heritage Corridor project. Her premises in Delhi and in parts of Uttar Pradesh were raided. But everyone was surprised when she declared just before the 2004 Lok Sabha elections that the Congress had offered her a deal to ensure no injustice to her if the BSP agreed for a post-poll coalition. While she did not specify the deals, it was obvious that reference was to the Taj corridor scam and disproportionate assets cases. The CBI subsequently decided to close the case. In April, 2010, the Allahabad High Court prevented one of its benches from taking up a PIL seeking to prosecute Uttar Pradesh chief minister Mayawati in the Taj corridor case. Thus, all controversies under fire were downed once she agreed to obey the diktats of the ruling class and rode to power with its backing. Even her personal wealth is swelling when acute impoverishment is reducing the people of the state to unbearable misery. In April, 2007 while filing her nomination papers for assembly elections Mayawati had declared her assets to be worth Rs 52 crores. While filing her income tax return



Comrade Ranjit Dhar, Member, Politbureau taking School of Politics of Bihar State at Ghatshila from 24 to 26 December, 2011.

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Comrades, I do not think there is any need for me to deliver a set speech on Lenin's activities. It would be better, I think, to confine myself to a few facts to bring out certain of Lenin's characteristics as a man and a leader. There may, perhaps, be no inherent connection between these facts, but that is not of vital importance as far as gaining a general idea of Lenin is concerned.....

I first became acquainted with Lenin in 1903. True, it was not a personal acquaintance, but was by correspondence. But it made an indelible impression upon me, one which has never left me throughout all my work in the Party. I was in exile in Siberia at the time. My knowledge of Lenin's revolutionary activities since the end of the nineties, and especially after 1901, after the appearance of *Iskra*, had convinced me that in Lenin we had a man of extraordinary calibre.... When I compared him with the other leaders of our Party, it always seemed to me that he was head and shoulders above his colleagues— Plekhanov, Martov, Axelrod and the others; that, compared with them, Lenin was not just one of the leaders, but a leader of the highest rank, a **mountain eagle**, who knew no fear in the struggle, and who boldly led the Party forward along the unexplored paths of the Russian revolutionary movement.

I first met Lenin in December 1905 at the Bolshevik conference in Tammefors (Finland)..... The two speeches Lenin delivered at this conference were remarkable: one was on the current situation and the other on the agrarian question. Unfortunately, they have not been preserved... The extraordinary power of conviction, the simplicity and clarity of argument, the brief and

Stalin on Lenin

[Abridged from a speech at a Memorial Meeting of Lenin on January 28, 1924]



easily understood sentences, the absence of affectation, of dizzying gestures and theatrical phrases aiming at effect—all this made Lenin's speeches a favourable contrast to the speeches of the usual "parliamentary" orators. But what captivated me at the time was not this aspect of Lenin's speeches. I was captivated by that **irresistible force of logic** in them which, although somewhat terse, gained a firm hold on his audience, gradually electrified it, and then, as one might say, completely overpowered it. I remember that many of the delegates said: "The logic of Lenin's speeches is like a mighty tentacle which twines all round you and holds you as in a vice and from whose grip you are powerless to tear yourself away: you must either surrender or resign yourself to utter defeat."

The second time I met Lenin was in 1906 at the Stockholm Congress¹² of our Party. You know that the Bolsheviks were in the minority at this congress and suffered defeat. This was the first time I saw Lenin in the role of the

vanquished. But he was **not in the least like those leaders who whine** and lose heart after a defeat. On the contrary, defeat transformed Lenin into a spring of compressed energy which inspired his supporters for new battles and for future victory.... Hatred of the whining intellectual, faith in our own strength, confidence in victory—that is what Lenin impressed upon us. It was felt that the Bolsheviks' defeat was temporary, that they were bound to win in the very near future.... At the next congress, held in 1907 in London,¹³ the Bolsheviks proved victorious. This was the first time I saw Lenin in the role of victor... I recall that Lenin insistently impressed on the delegates: "The first thing is not to become intoxicated by victory and not to boast; the second thing is to consolidate the victory; the third is to give the enemy the finishing stroke, for he has been beaten, but by no means crushed."... Party leaders cannot but prize the opinion of the majority of their party. A majority is a power with which a leader cannot

but reckon. Lenin understood this no less than any other party leader. But Lenin never became a captive of the majority, especially when that majority had no basis of principle.... Lenin was the very antithesis of such leaders. I do not know of any other revolutionary who had so profound a faith in the creative power of the proletariat and in the revolutionary efficacy of its class instinct as Lenin. I do not know of any other revolutionary who could scourge the smug critics of the "chaos of revolution" and the "riot of unauthorised actions of the masses" so ruthlessly as Lenin. I recall that when in the course of a conversation one comrade said that "the revolution should be followed by the normal order of things," Lenin sarcastically remarked: "It is a pity that people who want to be revolutionaries forget that the most normal order of things in history is the revolutionary order of things." Hence, Lenin's contempt for all who superciliously looked down on the masses and tried to teach them from books. And hence, **Lenin's constant precept: learn from the masses**, try to comprehend their actions, carefully study the practical experience of the struggle of the masses... Lenin was born for revolution. He was, in truth, **the genius of revolutionary outbreaks** and the greatest master of the art of revolutionary leadership. Never did he feel so free and happy as in a time of revolutionary upheavals. I do not mean by this that Lenin approved equally of all revolutionary upheavals, or that he was in favour of revolutionary outbreaks at all times and under all circumstances. Not at all. What I do mean is that never was the genius of Lenin's insight displayed so fully and distinctly as in a time of revolutionary outbreaks.

[Emphasis added]

UP on the Eve of Assembly Elections

Hallmark of Mayawati rule has been large scale corruption and despotism

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for the assessment year 2008-09 she estimated her income to be Rs 60 crores and had deposited Rs 15 crores as advance tax. The actual income exceeded this estimate at the end of this financial year. She has been declared as the richest chief minister of the country.

The common ground on which Mayawati and her regime are being targeted ahead of the election is 'large scale corruption' and 'despotism' brazenly displayed by the chief minister and her blue-eyed boys. Many MLAs and MPs of the party have been charged for criminal

activities like murder, rape, kidnapping and misappropriation of money. Some of them could not escape going to jail also. Hundreds of crores of rupees have been spent from public exchequer to install several statues of Mayawati round the state. At Noida adjacent to Delhi, one '*dalit preronasthal*' (place of inspiration for the oppressed caste) has been built at a cost of Rs 680 crores. Besides two bronze statues of Mayawati and BSP founder late Kansiram, there are 52 elephant statues because elephant is the poll symbol of BSP. In the name of building Ganga express highway

and Jamuna express highways, sizeable agricultural land has been forcibly acquired. When the peasants rose in protest, the government came down heavily on them with batons and bullets. Peasants had developed powerful movements at Kochhona, Mirzapur, Aligarh, Bhatta -Parsaul and other places. Police bullet has taken away several lives as well. No new industry has come up. Many of the existing factories have closed down. The once sprawling industrial belt of Kanpur now has a deserted look. Because of plummeting of power generation, both agriculture and industry are going through

immense problem. People have also protested the policy of setting up Special Economic Zones (SEZs) and the government's decision to ban rallies and demonstrations with a view to muffling voice of dissent. During the last five years of her tenure, she has considerably lost her ground because of continuously ditching the people and thriving on the hunger of the millions. Grievances were mounting against her. Other parties are also thoroughly discredited. In order to divert people's attention, she, of late, passed a proposal in the assembly to

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UP on the Eve of Assembly Elections

Bourgeois, petty-bourgeois parties dangling carrot of reservation when job loss and unemployment are soaring

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divide the state into four smaller states as if that would give relief to the people from rising prices, mounting unemployment, problems of food, shelter, education, healthcare, sanitation, water supply and social evils like nationality-oppression, casteist feuds and discriminations and all such other deprivations and oppressions. Almost all other parties including the pseudo-Marxists like CPI (M), CPI supported this move which has not a semblance of justification whatsoever. Only purpose of this disintegration is to divide the people further which is sure to weaken united people's movement against all anti-people policies in the state. Just a few years back, separate Uttarkhand state was carved out of UP. Has that mitigated or exacerbated the hardship of the people? What propriety has Mayawati who confines herself to her ivory tower, makes her own fortune by misusing the seat of chief minister and deceives poor destitute people by calling herself a *dalit*, to seek vote?

The card of reservation

All these parties know that they cannot solicit support by raising people's issues. So, as part of their continuous indulgence in instigation to divisiveness, they have on the eve of this assembly elections been playing the reservation card. Congress today tied itself in knots saying it favoured a further increase in job quotas for backward minorities in poll-bound Uttar Pradesh. Salman Khurshid, Congress state president, has triggered a controversy by promising to increase the sub-quota for OBC Muslims in Uttar Pradesh to 9 per cent. Congress, incidentally, in its 2009 Lok Sabha election manifesto, had promised to provide a reservation to OBC Muslims. Hitting out at the Congress for diverting attention from corruption to "divisive politics," BJP said this was why it was offering 9 per cent reservation to minorities out of the 27% quota thereby depriving the other sections of OBCs. It is interesting that the same BJP once said that it was seriously considering the issue of granting reservation to *Jat* community. One would also recall that A B Vajpayee, former BJP prime minister once spoke in favour of caste agenda to appease a particular caste in Rajasthan. Participating in the spree of making promise of reservation, Mulayam Singh announced that he would give

18% quota outside the OBC bracket to the Muslims. He dubbed the Congress-led central government's decision of 4.5% sub-quota within the 27% OBC bracket as "meager". But he himself is hobbled by the fact that "strong" backward communities like *Yadavs* and *Kurmis* are against sub-quota that would restrict their 27% playfield in OBC quota. Congress slammed Mulayam Singh for misleading Muslims by promising 18% reservation and accused it of being in league with RSS, raising the decibel level on minority politics in UP elections. Congress's assault on SP is stated to be the sub-plot of UP polls where the rivals are vying for Muslim votes, with Rahul Gandhi leading an aggressive quota politics to come up trumps. Competition among "secular" rivals over "Muslim quota" has come in handy for BJP as its strategists have swiftly framed the concession for "backward" Muslims as a loss for Hindu OBCs.

It will be pertinent to recall that at the time of gaining political independence from the British rulers, there was legitimate accumulated grievance in the minds of these utterly disadvantaged *dalit* people and there was public pressure on the authors of the Constitution to frame some remedial measures. Thus a special provision of reservation for the SCs and STs in job and education found berth in the Constitution. This reservation was applicable in the government schools, colleges, offices and public sector units and the percentage was decided based on the proportion of these sections of the people to the total population. There was no reservation for OBCs. The authors of the Constitution were aware that this provision of reservation cannot be perennial since that would mean indirect acknowledgment of perpetual backwardness of the *dalit* population and obstruct the process of uplifting them to a level-playing field with others. For adequate development and flourishing of merit, there ought to be a healthy competition among all, just like the way a good student sharpens his skill when competing with a host of other meritorious students. So they stipulated this reservation would be for 10 years and thereafter a review should be taken as to how far this reservation for a limited period had met with its objective. But what has been the outcome of this reservation policy? Have the benefits envisaged accrued to the vast multitude of the *dalit* people? One and all will say

'no'. On the contrary their condition has worsened further in tandem with the other sections of the downtrodden masses in independent India.

It could not but be otherwise. In a class-divided society like ours, in the context of conflicting class interests between the exploiter and exploited, the ruling bourgeoisie and the proletariat, it is futile to expect equal opportunity for development of all individuals, equal opportunity of education to the children of all strata, people's welfare and social progress by way of economic development through unhindered industrialization and providence of job to all. So instead of bringing any gradual improvement in the economic or social condition of the countrymen at large, the *dalits* included, there has been accelerated deterioration in each and every walk of their life in post-independence capitalist India. Only, in accordance with the law of capitalism, the rich became richer and the poor poorer irrespective of caste, creed or religion. So, we find that after 64 years of independence, 60% of the *dalits* are still illiterate. It is 70% in case of STs. On the other hand, the fallout of the reservation a small fraction, hardly 3%, of the *dalits* usurped all opportunities and benefits and they emerged as a 'creamy layer', a tiny group of affluent 'elites' enjoying all privileges and clout as part of the handful of dominating rich in the society, being totally callous and indifferent to the rapid degeneration of the livelihood of the lower caste populace. Thus they have practically become an appendage to the ruling bourgeoisie. This emergence of a creamy layer within the *dalits* has once again attracted pointed attention to the fact that in capitalism class division is becoming sharper every moment; the yawning gap between the haves and have-nots is making social stratification more pronounced and vivid. In a crafty move, the ruling class carved out a privileged group from the most oppressed section of the masses to be pliable to its class interest and projected as proof of prosperity (!) of the *dalit* populace. While the Congress and the other bourgeois parties who rode to power did nothing to uplift the *dalit* people to the mainstream of the society, rid them of the social ostracism and humiliating life condition and in the process phase out the very need of reservation, there has been no letup in their pretentious concern for the *dalits* and other backward groups and

communities on the part of other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties who simply use the slogan to hoodwink the masses and make a lucrative political career of pelf and power. It is a disgrace that power-monger political leaders who are sharpening competitive quota pitch trample underfoot the basic features of the Indian Constitution they pretend to swear in by dividing the country on the basis of caste, religion, language, sect and region simply for staying afloat in the corridors of power. When following the law of capitalism and exploitative capitalist design, job opportunities are squeezed, job losses are rampant, unemployment is piling up, recruitment is virtually closed in all government offices and organizations, the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties are making the reservation the prime issue in the elections. What can be more preposterous than this?

Politician-Industrial House nexus

Another aspect ought not to escape our notice. Notwithstanding shedding crocodile tears for the *dalits*, backward Muslims and have-nots in general, all the mainstream bourgeois parties locking horn with each other are on record to have been in 'close ties' with established industrial barons who are cornering all wealth and prosperity by sucking out the last drop of blood of the poor and pauperized. As reported, Anil Ambani identified the power business as his vehicle of growth and UP as his building ground. He shared a relationship of business and bonhomie with Mulayam and his once number two, Amar Singh. The cornerstone of Ambani's plan was an 8,000 mw gas-based power plant in Dadri, but it tripped at the land acquisition stage itself. The Mulayam government acquired 2,500 acres on Ambani's behalf citing "public purpose". The continuing presence of Mulayam could have seen more of Ambani's ambitions in the power business being realised -- at a projected 5,000 mw at the end of 2012, Reliance Power is behind its 2017 target of 35,000 mw. If Mulayam returns, that could change. Ambani still has land in Dadri, but no gas.

Sahara India of Subrayta Roy acquired huge land tracts during Mulayam's tenure and announced 11 townships, though it started building only in 2007. A person with

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UP on the Eve of Assembly Elections

Make SUCI(C) candidates victorious to strengthen force of people's movement

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knowledge of the group's real estate business says, in Mayawati's tenure, Sahara has completed just two projects. "It would have completed six more, which are works in progress, had Mulayam been in power," he says, on the condition of anonymity.

Sugar manufacturers in UP, India's sugar bowl, take Mulayam's name with reverence. During Mulayam's tenure, Kushagra Bajaj increased capacity fivefold, with the chief minister even inaugurating some of those new plants. The expansion, steered by young Kushagra Bajaj, saw it gatecrash into eastern UP, a stronghold of Balrampur Chini Mills, the then leader by capacity.

"Amar Singh's muscle power, coupled with his (Kushagra) own financial strength, helped Bajaj wrest the number one spot," says a sugar analyst from a Mumbai-based brokerage, not wanting to be named.

In March 2009, the Mayawati government decided to hand over the Rs 6,000 crore liquor trade in UP to one industrial group. The group chosen, through a tender process, belonged to Gurdeep Singh Chadha, better known as Ponty Chadha. The policy (of awarding the liquor licences) was alleged to have been tailor-made for Ponty Chadha. The group is also developing 152 acres of commercial land in the heart of Noida, where finding such tracts is difficult. But he made his millions in UP, first under Mulayam, who inaugurated his Wave mall-cum-multiplex in Lucknow, and then under Mayawati. In 2010, he bagged five of the 11 sick sugar mills sold by UP. He reportedly got the mills at Rs 276 crore, when their market price was Rs 1,000-1,500 crore. There is hardly any need for mentioning the open support both Congress and BJP receive from the top monopoly houses and how these tycoons have fared during the tenures of these parties either in the states or at the Centre.

Opportunism of the pseudo-Marxists

While such an out and out deceptive anti-people role is quite expected from the parties wedded to the task of obediently serving the class interest of the ruling capitalist class, the perfidious role of the pseudo-Marxists like CPI (M), CPI and their associates cannot go unmentioned. When people are falling innocent victims of worst casteist-communal politics and swinging between one bourgeois party or combination and

another in the hustings to be utterly betrayed and back-stabbed, need of the hour is to release an alternative current of left-democratic politics of fostering people's legitimate democratic movement based on higher ethics and culture and participate in the elections as a part of this ongoing democratic movement. The focus ought not to be on grabbing seats at any cost, adopting any means or forging unprincipled alliance with anyone just for the sake of winning but on strengthening people's movement, increasing their political consciousness and sending as many as tried and tested soldiers of democratic movements to the legislature to voice people's demands there fearlessly. The whole effort should be to coordinate parliamentary movement with extra-parliamentary movements. Nothing else but people's cause should outweigh all other considerations. In fact there has to be real challenge thrown to the unscrupulous utterly corrupt privilege-seeking bourgeois politics of double-dealing. But, CPI(M), CPI are far distanced from this path of movement. Wearing a left cloak — courtesy bourgeois media — their only objective is to form opportunistic alliance or enter into devious seat sharing with this or that bourgeois parties or combinations to increase the number of MLAs and MPs whose role and behaviour inside the legislatures is no different from their bourgeois counterparts. After completely surrendering to the ruling class, this has been the kind of deterioration they have registered. Even the state governments run by them could not be distinguished from any other government in so far as pursuit of anti-people pro-capitalist policies and brutal crushing of legitimate people's movements are concerned. One would recall that besides supporting Congress-led first UPA government for over 4 ½ years, they joined hands with Jayalalitha, known as scam queen, in Tamilnadu assembly elections. They even aligned with the Telengana separatists in Andhra Pradesh elections. Before 2009 parliamentary elections, they had talked of projecting Mayawati as the prime ministerial candidate of the so-called Third Front. This time, when they have been ousted from power in both West Bengal and Kerala, there is no taker for them in UP. If they had slightest of inclination towards amendment of their non-left stand and activities, they could have at least given a call for uniting all leftist forces on the basis of a common



Comrade Provash Ghosh conducting the School of Politics of Orissa comrades at Ghatshila held from 28 to 30 December, 2011

programme of developing democratic movements of the people and participated in the elections as a left alternative. But they have not, because they are loath to undertake any activity that might displease the ruling class and scuttle their prospect of staging a comeback with its blessings and backing. It is understood that still they are on a covert hunt for local adjustment with any of the forces to explore the possibility of somehow sneaking one or two candidates into the legislature to join the bandwagon of bourgeois politicians. But it is not yet clear as to whose tailism they would subject themselves to this time.

Strengthen genuine force of movement in the coming election

It is, therefore, clear that UP has become the centrestage of dirty politics of divisiveness and deriding let loose by the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, the pseudo-Marxist social democrats included. Caught in the web of this nasty casteist-communal politics, the common people groaning under the yoke of ruthless capitalist exploitation and desperately seeking respite from this strangulating condition are completely at a loss, groping for the way out. The way out lies in growth and development of conscious united long-drawn organized democratic movement on the burning problems of life rising above all kind of divisiveness and sectarianism and based on higher ethics and culture under correct leadership. But this truth is remaining obfuscated. This dirty politics of betrayal, this cast of fiercely competing power-seekers, continually changing caste and

communal loyalties and a host of other imponderables are obstructing the process of development of this desired people's movement. Time has come when the suffering people of UP need to imbibe this imperativeness, come out of the shackles of heinous casteist-communal politics and build up their struggle for life along the right track. They must also view the coming election from that perspective, isolate the opportunistic, vote-oriented, power-seeking parties and groups and wholeheartedly support the forces committed to develop this people's movement and hence to the cause of the oppressed masses. And they know from experience that SUCI(C) is that party of movement, always in the streets to uphold the genuine demands of the people, not afraid of any attack from the rulers and their hirelings, not covered by the red-hot anger of the power that be. People have been observing that SUCI(C) has not bartered its conscience, not entered into the trap of lucrative parliamentarianism and dupe the people. While all are in the politics to gain pelf and power, SUCI(C) is in the arena to uphold the nobility of revolutionary politics which is ingrained in its higher ethical and cultural standard that teaches to sacrifice, dedicate life for the emancipation of the people from the scourge of brutal capitalist oppression. Time and again, it has been drawing attention of the toiling people that in order to throw a spanner in their growing unity, the ruling class with the help of its subservient political parties of different hues are planting divide among them on casteist or communal

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Parliament March

Charter of demands

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- Ensure commensurable compensation and complete rehabilitation in case of acquisition out of genuine social necessity.
- 4. Stop commercialization and privatization of education and health-care. Stop fee hike, automatic promotion and sex education.
- 5. Stop atrocities on women and trafficking of women and children. Firmly contain vulgar culture and liquor menace.
- 6. Declare right to work as fundamental right, pending employment ensure unemployment allowance to all. Stop closures and retrenchment, Reinstate all retrenched workers. Fill up vacant posts in government offices. Prohibit contract labour system in permanent jobs. Stop infringement of labour rights and violations of labour laws. Ensure need-based minimum wage and social security for all section of workers including agricultural labours. Stop SEZ and private ownership of minerals and national resources including water. Repeal new pension scheme.
- 7. Stop corruption at all levels. Mete out exemplary punishment to all found guilty.
- 8. Repeal black acts and draconian enactments and schemes including Aadhaar project and AFSPA. Guarantee democratic rights of the people.

Throughout the length and breadth of the country, our Party workers and volunteers are engaged in a signature campaign on these demands. Each and every citizen is being approached to give their valuable signature in support of these just and pressing demands. On 14 March the streets of Delhi will witness the march of a sea of people carrying these signatures which will be handed over to the central government as mark of conveyance of people's demands.

UP Assembly Elections

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lines, duping them by dangling carrot and thereby pushing them in to a perpetual doom. Based on its organizational strength, SUCI(C) has been contesting in eight constituencies with this clear base political line. We appeal to the people to vote the SUCI(C) candidates and make them victorious to ensure that people's voice reverberates inside the legislature.

Countrywide signature campaign for Parliament March



GOALPARA, ASSAM



HYDERABAD, A.P.



BELLARY, KARNATAKA



PURULIA, W.B.



DHARWAD, KARNATAKA



ANANTAPUR, A.P.



KOLKATA, W.B.



CUTTACK, ORISSA

List of SUCI(C) Candidates in UP Assembly election

District	Constituency	Candidate
Jaunpur	Jafarabad	Comrade Sripati singh,
	Badlapur	Comrade Pramod Kr Shukla
Sultanpur	Lambhua	Comrade Jaiprakash Maurya
Pratapgarh	Patti	Comrade Rajmani vishwakarma
Kanpur	Kalyanpur	Comrade Valendra Katiyar
Moradabad	Moradabad City	Comrade Islam Ali
Bheem Nagar	Asamauli	Comrade Sheel kumar
Ballia	Rasara	Comrade Anil kumar

Please give your valued signature in support of the Charter of Demands, liberally donate to the fighting fund and join en masse the Parliament March on 14 March, 2012

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